

as zealous and extremist murderers, as Jeffrey Kenney's work has shown. As I have pointed out elsewhere, labeling modern-day radical Muslims as Khawarij may be an effective way to discredit and slander them, but from a theological (not to mention historical) perspective, the comparison is incorrect. This makes it quite strange that Toth, whose goal is precisely to debunk such wild accusations, applies this term to Qutb's ideas.

A more important problem with Toth's book from an academic point of view is that it makes very little use of primary sources, instead retelling a story that has been told several times before in English-language books and articles by authors such as those mentioned above. Further, although Toth has spent much time in Egypt and knows the country very well, he does not seem to have done fieldwork specifically for this project, which gives one the impression that the book grew out of his earlier work rather than constituting a serious research project in its own right, a point that Toth seems to confirm in the preface (p. ix).

None of this means, however, that Toth's book is a bad one. It is very well written and nicely structured, making it a pleasant read. Moreover, unlike other works on Qutb that focus mostly on biography (Musallam, Calvert) or ideas (Mousalli, Shepard, Khatab), Toth gives a very broad, yet detailed overview of Qutb's life *and* ideology, ensuring that he does indeed demystify his subject—as he set out to do—by showing Qutb's development over the course of his life. Furthermore, although Toth makes little use of primary sources, he should be credited with digging up an impressive range of secondary sources—including some rarely used ones—that, while not focusing directly on Qutb, offer some interesting insights into the book's subject, particularly the often highly contentious period of the 1930s during which Qutb was a poet and literary critic. Toth's analysis of the Egyptian intellectual and literary milieu is quite interesting and, despite his reliance on secondary sources, will offer new information to many.

Given the fact that Toth's book does not exactly live up to its own promises and offers little new information or insights to specialists of Qutb and radical Islam in Egypt, the book cannot be said to be a significant contribution to the literature from a scholarly point of view. For those (relatively) new to the subject of Sayyid Qutb, however, the book's comprehensive approach (supported even further by the appendices), clear structure, and pleasant style of writing ensure that it will serve as a very good introduction to Qutb's life and ideology. So while scholars familiar with the subject will be better off with Khatab or Calvert, nonexperts—who may have been Toth's target audience all along—may find no book better to start with than this one.

CARRIE ROSEFSKY WICKHAM, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013). Pp. 384. \$29.95 cloth.

REVIEWED BY JOSHUA STACHER, Department of Political Science, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio; e-mail: jstacher@kent.edu
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A leading authority on Islamist politics, Carrie Wickham brings years of thoughtful research, experience in the field, and careful reflection to her new book on the Muslim Brotherhood. The book, which is meticulously detailed and superbly sourced, is a pleasure to read and advances robust theoretical and empirical claims.

Wickham begins with the expectation that competing tendencies of ideational continuity and change exist in any large political-missionary organization. Rather than boil the group down to a voiceless monolith or speculate about the Brotherhood's essential intentions, Wickham shows

how and why scholars can account for the strategic changes not only in the group's rhetoric and behavior but also in its values and beliefs. The central argument is that Islamist ideational development is dependent on "differences in the social environments within which [Islamist groups] are embedded" (p. 287). Thus, a big-tent organization like the Muslim Brotherhood is not a free-ranging actor with ideological coherence. She charts ideational change by matching the ideational development of individuals with their specific political histories. This leads her to analyze three groupings within the Brotherhood: reformers, pragmatists, and conservatives. In doing so, she eschews the participation-causes-moderation argument in favor of a more fine-grained analysis of cause and effect. Wickham takes her expansive knowledge and background and applies it mainly to the case of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood but also to Brotherhood offshoots in Jordan, Kuwait, and Morocco.

This is not to say that the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in a given country are only the helpless products of regime design. Wickham presents a pattern by which varying degrees of regime manipulation and repression lead to fierce intra-group debates about political integration and group preservation. In every case, the conservative and pragmatic forces in the group surround the reformers, or those pushing for more liberal change. Invariably, the reformers are expelled or leave the group while the Brotherhood doubles-down on opaque and autocratic operations that serve the conservative trend.

Wickham explains this process well. She makes the argument that part of the ideational change that some experience is a result of their work outside the Muslim Brotherhood. By running for parliament, working with non-Brotherhood politicians, meeting voters, or serving in professional syndicates, Brothers meet people from different backgrounds. They learn to cooperate and become less wedded to the Brotherhood's rigid ideas. They also cease to care about only appealing to the Brotherhood's base. Reformists' outside interactions transform their behavior, rhetoric, and worldviews. This, in turn, feeds back into the Brotherhood movement and produces discursive change over time. Yet, neither the conservatives nor the pragmatists gain these experiences.

The problem lies with the conservative faction as well as what she terms the "pragmatic" members of the group, almost all of whom break toward the conservatives when the political stakes are raised. According to Wickham, this seems to have lots to do with the practical practices of group politics. The reason that the conservative leadership always holds the trump card, however, has nothing to do with its ideas. They outflank the reformist trend because leadership positions are habitually stacked with those more concerned with the group's internal operations as opposed to those who focus their political efforts outside the Brotherhood. While the Brotherhood reformists have more liberal ideas as a result of their experiences working outside the organization, those who operate the levers of control within the organization maintain a structural advantage for preserving the group's internal hierarchy. Thus, the so-called reformers always lose because they lack the ability to distribute resources to members, as well as the power to appoint, structure internal elections, or oversee internal rewards and discipline. This also explains why the so-called pragmatists break towards the conservatives. They do not do it for the ideas. Rather, they do it for their careers. Supplementing this dynamic, and as Wickham convincingly shows, repression and political closures reinforce the conservatives' hold as opposed to tilting the balance towards the reformists.

Path-breaking and innovative, *The Muslim Brotherhood* nonetheless has dimensions that merit further attention and research. There are two main shortcomings that emerge over the course of this still outstanding book. First, Wickham spends too much time with the reformists. While checking the sources, one sees that she has spoken with people that represent all the different ideational currents. Yet, the so-called conservatives and pragmatists feel absent in the text compared to the reformists, who she relies on extensively. While she explains this discrepancy by saying that the conservative leaders are difficult to access and engage, and I

know this first hand to be the case, the reader is still left wanting to hear more from the other side.

The second shortcoming is one of balance. Wickham has one theoretical chapter. Of the eight remaining chapters in the book, seven detail dynamics around the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. The remaining chapter covers Islamist movements in Jordan, Kuwait, and Morocco. While Wickham's thesis is robust and strong on Egypt's Brothers, more time on the other cases could have strengthened and extended her theoretical claims. Wickham's book remains one about the experience of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood.

These criticisms aside, Wickham's book is a masterful telling of the trajectory of the contemporary Egyptian Muslim Brothers. She moves past the conventional debates that most political scientists reference when studying Islamists: a variation of either "political exclusion may or may not cause violence" or "electoral participation may or may not cause ideational moderation." Instead, Wickham makes a case for measuring complexity. While some may argue that this sacrifices parsimony, Wickham delivers with lots of interviews, careful analysis of texts, public events, and electoral campaigns, as well as an encyclopedic sourcing of the secondary literature. The book provides scholars and researchers with much to think about in terms of ideational development, change, and growth. This is even more pressing now that events in Egypt and the Arab world demand that Islamist and secular groups rebuild politically after the aggressive reassertion of military regimes in the region.

SARAH YIZRAELI, *Politics and Society in Saudi Arabia: The Crucial Years of Development, 1960–1980* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). Pp. 336. \$62.71 cloth.

REVIEWED BY ROSIE BSHEER, Department of History, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Penn.; e-mail: rbsheer1@swarthmore.edu

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In an attempt to illuminate the politics of development in Saudi Arabia, the book under review examines top-down processes of socioeconomic transformation and the ways in which the Arabian American Oil Company and U.S. administrations produced and shaped them. Doing so allows the author to explore the fraught relationship between Al Sa'ud's regime and the society it came to rule through the theoretical lens of state formation and nation-building. The latter framing mechanism, according to Sarah Yizraeli, transcends the teleological and Eurocentric notions that modernization theory mobilizes, namely, that "Western-style" economic development enables more liberal and "modern" forms of political, social, and cultural transformation. Instead of projecting a universal conception of modernization on the Saudi experience, the author claims to take up modernization on "Saudi terms." Reaching beyond the arresting grip of "Western theories," Yizraeli explains that the adoption of Western technologies and practices of governance, coupled with the maintenance of "traditional" social, cultural, and political structures, constituted the hallmark of Saudi Arabia's petro-development trajectory. The attendant "defensive change" that Al Sa'ud deployed was thus a strategy for safeguarding the family's political survival, one that nonetheless furthered the entrenchment of the official religious institution as well as the family, tribe, and clan system. Bringing royals, elites, state-allied religious leaders, oil executives, and U.S. bureaucrats into direct confrontation, the author argues that this 20th-century struggle has not only shaped the current Saudi state form but also indirectly engendered the 9/11 attacks.

Based on the author's doctoral dissertation, *Politics and Society in Saudi Arabia* opens with a fleeting, empathic gesture to the ways in which pre- and post-9/11 media representations